any wealthy man should be believed before some ordinary man, a Badaga should be believed before a non-Badaga (other factors being relatively equal), a small boy should be believed before an adult, but an old man should be believed before a younger one. Until about 1940 utterances from ghosts or gods (spoken through possessed mediums) were treated as reliable evidence, more reliable indeed than anything men might say.

Badagas are familiar with the phenomenon of in-group solidarity, as it regularly finds graphic illustration in the hearing of village disputes. A man is so dependent upon the support of his family in a dispute, as well as in his daily ritual observances, that it is normally assumed -- unless he is disputing with his own brother -- that he will not lie to his family about anything. So if Kadan, for example, is engaged in a dispute with Rangan over the shifting of a field boundary, Kadan can expect his family's support in the matter even though they all know that his evidence is a complete fabrication; indeed the whole family stands to gain if Kadan wins the case, provided the family estate remains undivided until then. If Rangan is from another lineage than Kadan (and the dispute is sufficiently important, we might add), each man may win the active support of his entire lineage. Similarly in a dispute between two men of different hamlets, each man's hamlet will typically support him in the dispute even though his claim is known to be false. At the level of inter-village disputes the support from an entire hamlet may be forthcoming only because everybody feels the reputation of his own hamlet is at stake: few would look for material gains in the situation. The fixing of village boundaries by the Revenue Board during the 1880's obviated the possibility of an inter-village dispute over field boundaries; but important conflicts can still arise over marriage and divorce, inheritance, debt and interest, theft, and a variety of

428 to her late husband's estate. Occasionally a son who is to inherit is considered (622) insane or otherwise incapacitated. Under such circumstances a village head- (623) man and council would give his share of the inheritance directly to *his* son or else to whichever person was supporting him.

595 Inheritance problems most commonly arise when an aging man has no (428) sons. He may then marry a young woman, probably his second or third wife, (837) in the hope that she will produce a son. (He may even encourage his younger brother to sleep with her.) Alternatively, he will adopt a son. At its simplest, this could involve bringing his brother's son or another agnatic male into the 597 household. The latter could even begin to run the household and enjoy the property before the owner's death, and if the headman and the relatives (425) accepted this situation the property might be fully transferred to this person before the old man died. Where no male descendant exists, and none has 428 been adopted, the dead man's property is divided equally between his brothers, who are then obliged to apportion some of it for the support of (736) his daughters and/or widow. Once she dies that portion reverts to the brothers. It may of course happen that one or two of his brothers have already died before a childless man dies. In that case the sons of those dead brothers would still inherit their portions. Several sons of one dead brother divide their father's share equally amongst themselves, but it is no larger than the share that each of their living uncles receives.

593 The brother of a dead man does not formally adopt the orphaned 736 children, but it is he who should bring them up and arrange their marriages. 428 Once the male orphans are adults they take over their father's property from their uncle who has been managing it. In this situation the village council (425) would nonetheless award a part of the property to that uncle in recompense (623) for his services.

When brothers are dividing up an inheritance among themselves, they 428 give a share called *tale ku:ru* ("head dividend") to their eldest brother's 425 eldest son provided that he is older than every other brother's son. In effect this person is treated by them as a younger brother rather than a nephew except that his share is smaller than that of the brothers. When his own father, the eldest of the brothers, dies, his property is divided in equal portions in the usual manner amongst all of his sons. Since his eldest son already owns the "head dividend," that is not touched. The end result is that the eldest son of an eldest brother often inherits a bit more property than his younger brothers do.

6. Kinship Vocabulary

551 It is a feature of Badaga speech that a third party is referred to by his 601 connection to the person addressed. Thus when a man is speaking about his own wife, he does not say "my wife," but refers to her by her relationship to the person he is addressing, even though this may involve quite complicated vocabulary. However, in the case where the man is talking to his *FF*

585 round the neck of the woman. It is not merely a cord but the very marriage badge strung to the cord which is tied; even if she has had it tied round her neck on the occasion of the marriage ceremony she must now have it tied on again on the *Kaṇṇi-kaṭṭôdu* occasion, and this latter alone is the true marriage badge. It is on (425) this occasion that the bridegroom receives presents from his wife's people, which generally consist of a house, a pair of he-buffaloes and a pair of she-buffaloes. The last two must be given by even the poorest Badaga father-in-law. Whether the young couple receive a house and a larger number of buffaloes than the single pair that must be given depends upon the position and wealth of the father of the bride.

This ceremony of the *Kaṇṇi-kaṭṭôdu* is very curious though extremely simple. The relations of both sides are seated and the pair sit in their midst while of course the Kôṭa and Toraya music is going on. The eldest relation, father or brother of the husband, gets up and says:—*Kaṇṇi hâkalâ nenta hâkalâ*, meaning:—May the string be thrown round the neck; may it be thrown? And the other side reply:—*Hâkappâ hâku*—Throw, sir, throw. Then the cord is passed round and the ceremony of the *Kaṇṇi-kaṭṭôdu* is closed with a feast.

585 After the celebration of this ceremony the husband and wife
586 cannot separate of their own accord without going to the divorce-court in their village, an institution of which we shall speak later on. Thus this is the most important ceremony in the Badaga society and it is full of meaning. In a community where the relationship between the sexes is very lax there is little or no guarantee that the marriage tie will be regarded as binding. But when the wife is soon to become a mother it becomes necessary for her position as the female representative of the family to be recognised. Thus much importance attaches to the *Kaṇṇi-kaṭṭôdu* ceremony, and once it is performed the woman cannot leave her husband as lightly as she might after the marriage and before it was performed. Previously she might have done so of her own accord; but now only the community represented in a court can dissolve the marriage.
121 In my next article I shall show the importance of these village councils and describe the part they play in the life of the community, and then I shall give an account of the funeral rites of these interesting people.

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